

UN SECURITY COUNCIL REFORM, EU FOREIGN POLICY AND PROMOTION OF REGIONALISM

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POWERS Intensive Course
Navigating Security in a Storming World
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OUTLINE

- Flaws of the Security Council and their implications for the relevance of the United Nations
- Mainstream proposals to fix the Security Council
- The regionalization of international relations and the international system
- An alternative proposal for reform: The regionalization of the Security Council
- The role of the European Union in this respect

THE SECURITY COUNCIL



- Lack of effectiveness
- Lack of representativeness
- Lack of legitimation

EFFECTIVENESS

- The P5 bestow some “realism” on the SC, but
 - The reaction of the international community cannot be taken for granted.
 - The veto conditions the whole UN life
 - Great powers decide, but don't contribute enough
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THE VETO

- The veto has been used in order to prevent the appointment of certain personalities as Secretary-general, to prevent the adhesion of new members, to prevent the adhesion to the ICJ Statute.
 - Threatening the veto (prenatal effect of veto)
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THE VETO

Table 4.2 Changing patterns in the use of the veto in the Security Council

Period	<i>China*</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>Britain</i>	<i>US United States</i>	<i>USSR/ Russia</i>	Total
Total	9	18	32	83	128	269
2012	2	-	-	-	2	2
2011	1	-	-		1	3
2010	-	-	-	-	-	-
2009	-	-	-	-	1	1
2008	1	-	-	-	1	2
2007	1	-	-	-	1	2
2006	-	-	-	2	-	2
2005	-	-	-	-	-	-
2004	-	-	-	2	1	3
2003	-	-	-	2	-	2
2002	-	-	-	2	-	2
2001	-	-	-	2	-	2
2000	-	-	-	-	-	0
1999	1	-	-	-	-	1
1998	-	-	-	-	-	0
1997	1	-	-	2	-	3
1996	-	-	-	-	-	0
1986-95	-	3	8	24	2	37
1976-85	-	9	11	34	6	60
1966-75	2	2	10	12	7	33
1956-65	-	2	3	-	26	31
1946-55	(1*)	2	-	-	80	83

*Between 1946 and 1971, the Chinese seat on the Security Council was occupied by the Republic of China (Taiwan).

PK PERSONNEL (AUGUST 2020)

Top 10

- Bangladesh
- Rwanda
- Ethiopia
- Nepal
- India
- Pakistan
- Egypt
- Indonesia
- China
- Ghana

P5?

- 9. China
- 34. France
- 36. UK
- 71. Russia
- 80. USA

AND THE DEBTS?

Contributions to the UN Regular budget 2019-21

- 1. USA 22%
- 2. China 12%
- 3. Japan 8,6%
- 4. Germany 6%
- 5. UK 4,6%
- 6. France 4,4%
- Brazil, India, Italy
- 10. Russia 2,4%

Major Debtor Countries (Total debt, 2016)



- 1. USA (38%)
- 2. Japan
- 3. Spain
- 4. Ukraine
- 5. South Korea
- 6. UK
- 7. Italy
- 11. France
- 12. Russia
- https://www.un.org/en/ga/contributions/honourroll_2020.shtml

APPOINTMENT: SECURITY COUNCIL

Art. 23: effectiveness and representativeness

1. Candidate contribution to maintenance of peace and security
 2. Equitable geographical distribution: Absolute priority.
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REPRESENTATIVENESS

- CdS Membership/UNMembership: 1946 20%; 1965 13,5%; 2016 7,8%.

 - Equitable geographical distribution: no state can say to be represented by another.

 - Effectiveness vs. representativeness
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REPRESENTATIVENESS: THE “APPOINTMENT ISSUE”

Security Council:

- Equitable geographical distribution:
 - Group of African States: 3
 - Group of Asian States: 2
 - Latin American and Caribbean Countries: 2
 - Western European and Others Group: 2
 - Eastern European States: 1



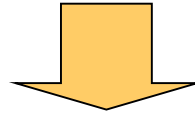
1. No consideration for members' performance
2. Equitable geographical distribution doesn't mean equitable representation!



What is a region?

LEGITIMACY

- Damaged by representativeness and effectiveness deficit
- Lacking mechanisms of representation, the access frequency becomes very relevant, but there are heavy inconsistencies.



- Panama 8 years, Mexico 5 years...Mauritius 4 years like Indonesia...More than 60 countries have never been elected. And then: Iraq, Spain under Franco, Iran...
 - The dangers of membership!
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THE SECURITY COUNCIL REFORM



STATE-CENTRIC REFORMS

- Two main headings:

1. **The enlargement of the Council to new permanent members**, with or without the right of veto. This would guarantee a seat to those countries that in the past 60 years have worked their way up in power ranking and that are increasingly contributing to the UN in terms of troops and budget
2. The enlargement of the council to other middle powers, **adding a new class of semi-permanent seats or non permanent renewable seats**, so as to assure to those countries a more stable or more frequent presence in the council

STATE-CENTRIC REFORMS

- Quick fix = Germany and Japan as Permanent Members
 - 3+2 = G + J + 1 Africa, 1 Asia, 1 AL
 - Model A (Kofi Annan) = 6 PM (G 4 + 2 African states) + 3 non permanent members
 - Italian Proposal (1990s) = semi-permanent members on a rotational basis
 - Model B (Kofi Annan) = 4 seats * 4 years (renewable) + 1 non permanent seat
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THE SHORTCOMINGS OF MAINSTREAM REFORM PROPOSALS

- They lack any strategy
- They are state-centric, in a world which is less and less state-centric
- They reflect the interests of the proponents
- They call for a *hic et nunc reform*.

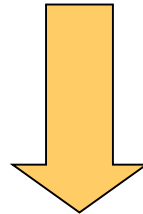


Everything is blocked

- *Open-Ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation and Increase in the Membership and Other Matters Related to the Security Council ...*

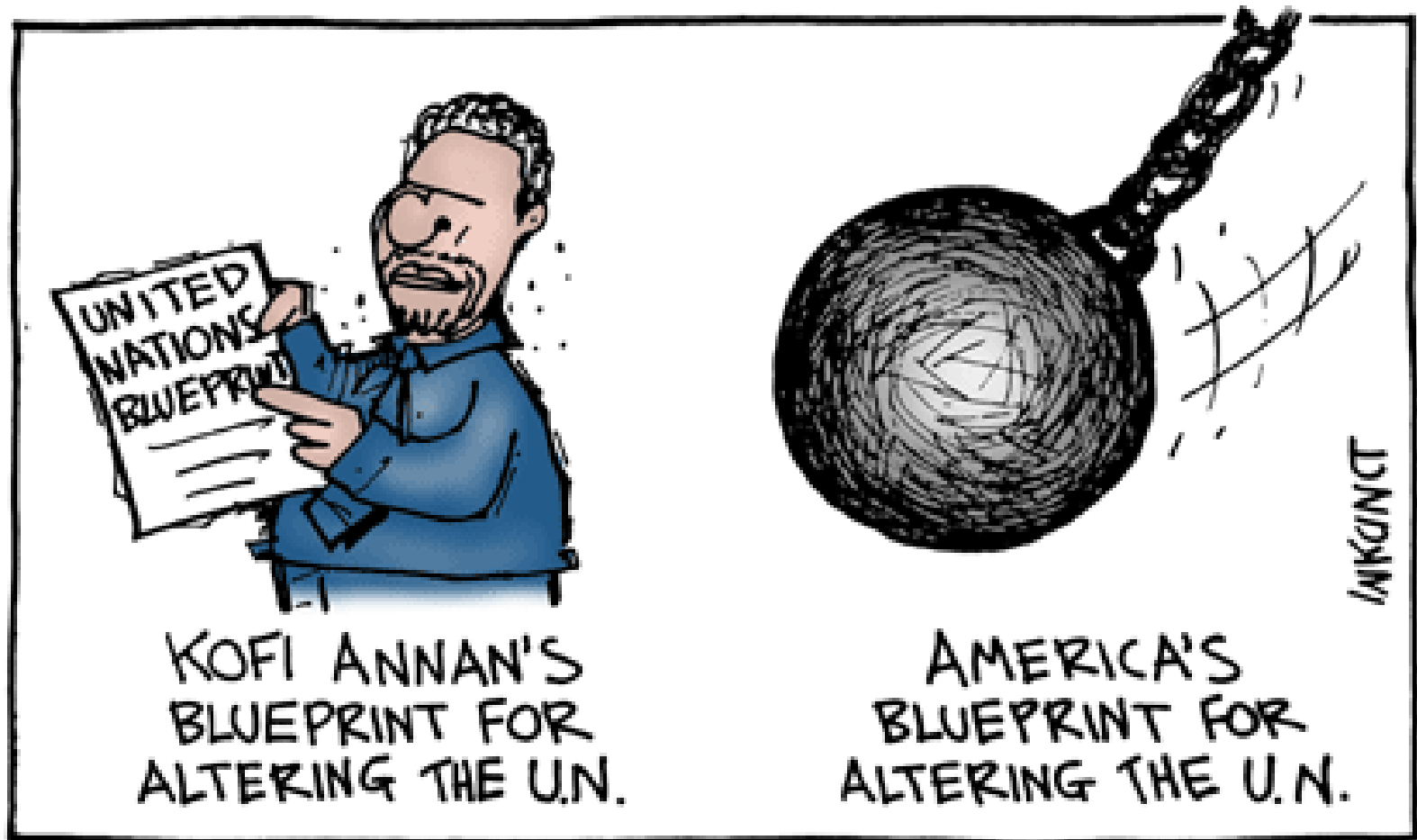
REFORM OR MARGINALIZATION

- The International Community is ready to act without the Security Council



- *Uniting for Peace Resolution*
 - Regional Organizations
 - Acting outside the UN
 - League of Democracies

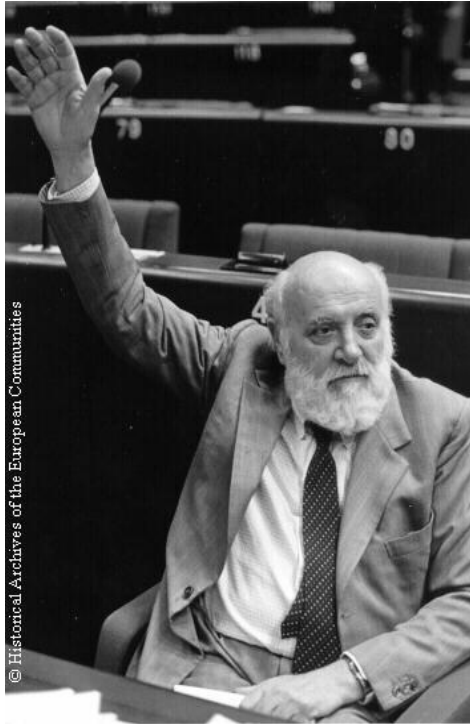
OPTION 1: UN DESTRUCTION



OPTION 2: OLIGARCHY



OPTION 3: DEMOCRATIZATION THROUGH REGIONALIZATION



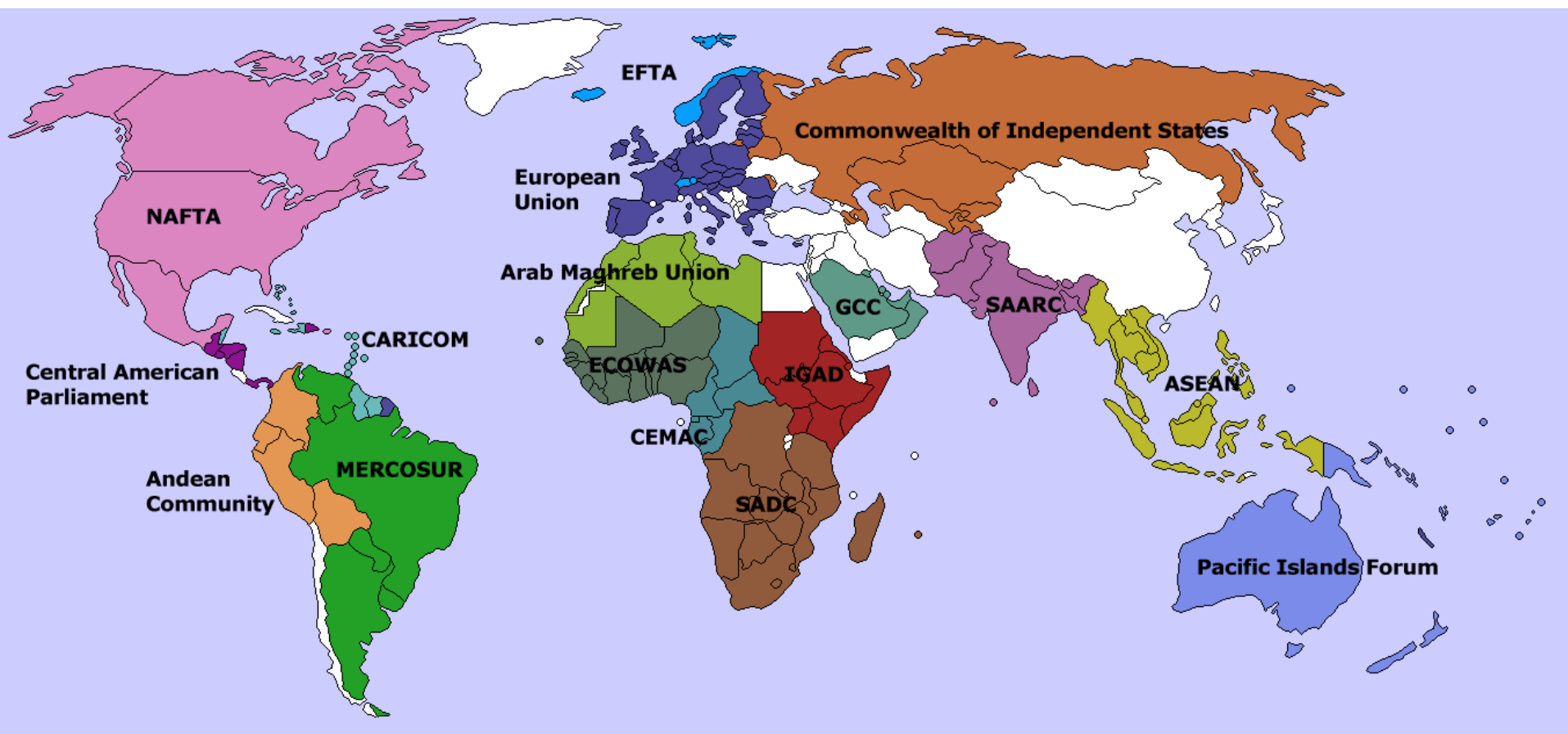
REGIONALISM

1. Joseph S. Nye (1966): «The formation of interstate associations or groupings on the basis of regions» → «An international region is a limited number of states linked by a geographical relations and by a degree of mutual **interdependence**».
 2. The Construction of common institutions by three or more neighbouring countries in order to manage increasing interdependence among states, peoples, territories and societies»
 3. Roughly: Political, economic, social, cultural aggregation of neighboring countries
- The response of politics and state to the increasing interdependence at the regional level

Systemic exogenous factors + Domestic (regional) factors

First Wave of regionalism
(1950s-70s)

Second Wave of regionalism
(1980s-)





Member states



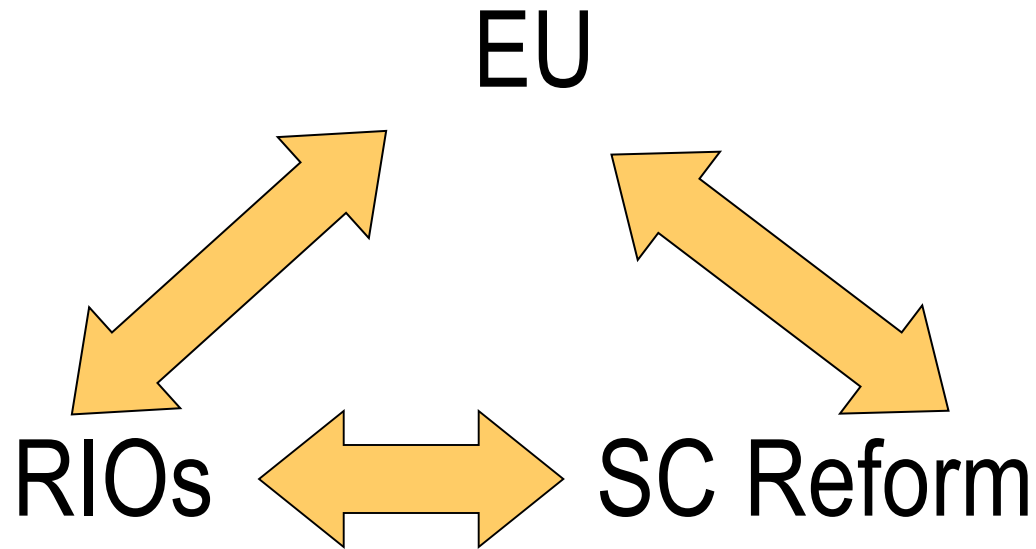
THE EU, CHAMPION OF REGIONALISM PROMOTION

- The EU as a model: The power of the example
- Economic externalities: The domino effect
- Specific policies to promote regionalism (technical and financial assistance, political support)
- Regionalism promotion through interregionalism

LET THE EU JOIN THE UN!



EU, REGIONALISM, SECURITY COUNCIL



THE REFORM AS A “SUSTAINABLE” PROCESS

- Middle-long run process
 - Coherent with the current trends of international relations
 - Overcoming the state-centric approach to reform
- Sustainable: that the process should be capable of self-fuelling until the final goal.



- «This may be an utopian vision, but it is the only vision of the world that can make sense of the common foreign and security policy of the civilian power which is the European Union»
(Vasconcelos, 2007)

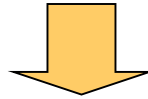
THE SUSTAINABLE PROCESS

- The EU contributes to the creation of a multipolar world
- The EU promotes regionalism elsewhere
- Regionalism, on its turn, strengthens multipolarism
- This creates the actors for reform
- Regionalist reform increases effectiveness and representativeness of the Security Council
- The EU would be the leading actor for reform

Strong eurocentrism

EURO-CENTRIC WORLD GOVERNANCE

Unifying Europe to unify the world



European integration as a **model**

+

Europe as a **federator**

=

EU as **regionalism promoter**



Building blocks of a world democratic governance

CONCLUSIONS

- The Security Council (and the UN) desperately need a reform, but any structural reform is prevented by the very mainstream approach of the proposal
- The regionalist proposal is based on the current trends of regionalization of international politics, and can also foster them
- This reform proposal is euro-centric, and reflects European ambitions which at odds with current reality
- Problems within the EU: France is against, some other countries are in favour, supranational institutions are in favour, Germany?
- EU's presence in the SC after the Lisbon Treaty; a step further
- The EU considered itself as a model for the world. History shows that other regional integration experience are different from the EU
- EU's sex appeal is declining
- Some regional organizations are very asymmetrical

- Regional organizations, however, are increasingly important as security providers, and the security council should reflect this reality
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THANK YOU!